A BUCKET, BY ANY OTHER NAME, AND AN ATHENIAN STRANGER IN EARLY IRON AGE CRETE

(PLATES 15–16)

ONE OF THE MORE INTERESTING, if not amusing, examples of the common accidents that can befall a potter is offered by a vessel found in the area of the later Athenian Agora. It was originally designed as a hydria but was later remodeled, prior to firing, into a krater. Published as a full-fledged and "handsome" krater in an early preliminary report,[1] soon after its discovery, the vase, Agora P 6163 (Fig. 1; Pl. 15:a), was to have received fuller treatment in the Early Iron Age volume in the *Athenian Agora* series. Such a distinguished venue would normally have sufficed the publication of the pot, but apart from its own intrinsic interest, it contributes to a small Cretan problem that has never been adequately addressed. Moreover, the original type of vessel from which P 6163 is likely to have been cut can be illustrated by a pot in the later Athenian Kerameikos.[2] For these reasons, Agora P 6163 is published here in the company of its friend, Fortetsa 454 (Pl. 16:d),[3] and in close proximity to its alter ego, or id, Kerameikos 783 (Pl. 15:b).[4]

Before describing Agora P 6163, it would be useful to summarize its context and establish its date, especially since dating a vessel such as this one on the basis of style alone would, at best, represent an arbitrary guess. Agora P 6163 was found in a well (deposit L 6:2). Clearance of late walls immediately to the south of the Athens–Piraeus railway in 1935 led to the discovery of this well, which is located only about 50 m south of the Eridanos River and about 12 m east of the southeast corner of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods. The mouth of the well, measuring 1.60 m east–west by 1.15 m north–south, was encountered at a depth of 6 m below the modern ground level, and its shaft extended another 5.50 m in depth. Two distinct dump fills were noted in this well, the earlier dating, for the most part, to Middle Geometric I, although it also yielded some earlier material, including some late Early Geometric II sherds; the later fill, comprising the uppermost 1.50 m of the deposit, is assigned to Middle Geometric II.[5] Stratified as it is, the well is listed by Nicolas Coldstream among the significant contexts of both Attic Middle Geometric I

[1] Shear 1936, pp. 32–33, fig. 32. I am grateful to Annie Hooton for the drawings of Agora P 6163 and Kerameikos inv. 783. Over the past several years she has devoted herself to preparing meticulous line drawings of the Early Iron Age pottery and other small finds from the area of the later Athenian Agora; her continued assistance is greatly appreciated and duly acknowledged. For funding this drafting work, I am grateful to the Institute for Aegean Prehistory and to Malcolm Wiener personally for his support of the project from the very beginning. For facilitating my work at the Stoa of Attalos I owe thanks to Jan Jordan and Sylvie Dumont, as well as to Craig and Marie Mauzy and, not least, the Director of the Agora Excavations, John Camp. For discussion of various aspects connected with this paper, particularly Fortetsa 454, I am grateful to Nicolas Coldstream; he is not to be held responsible for the ideas presented here. Of the photographs illustrating this paper, Plates 15:a and 16:c are courtesy of the Agora Excavations, Plates 15:b, c and 16:a, b are courtesy of the DAI-Athen, Kerameikos Excavations, and Plate 16:d is courtesy of the British School at Athens.

[2] For the location of the original, Early Iron Age Kerameikos of Athens in the area that was to become the Classical Agora, see Papadopoulos 1996.

[3] Brock 1957, p. 47, no. 454 [13], pl. 31, with further discussion on p. 43. The need to draw attention to P 6163 in a separate publication was also felt because the vessel, for a while on display in the Agora Museum, was moved to the comparative oblivion of the storage shelves of the upper floor of the Stoa of Attalos.

[4] *Kerameikos* V, i, inv. 783, Grave 89, pl. 50.

[5] Young 1949, pp. 427–428.

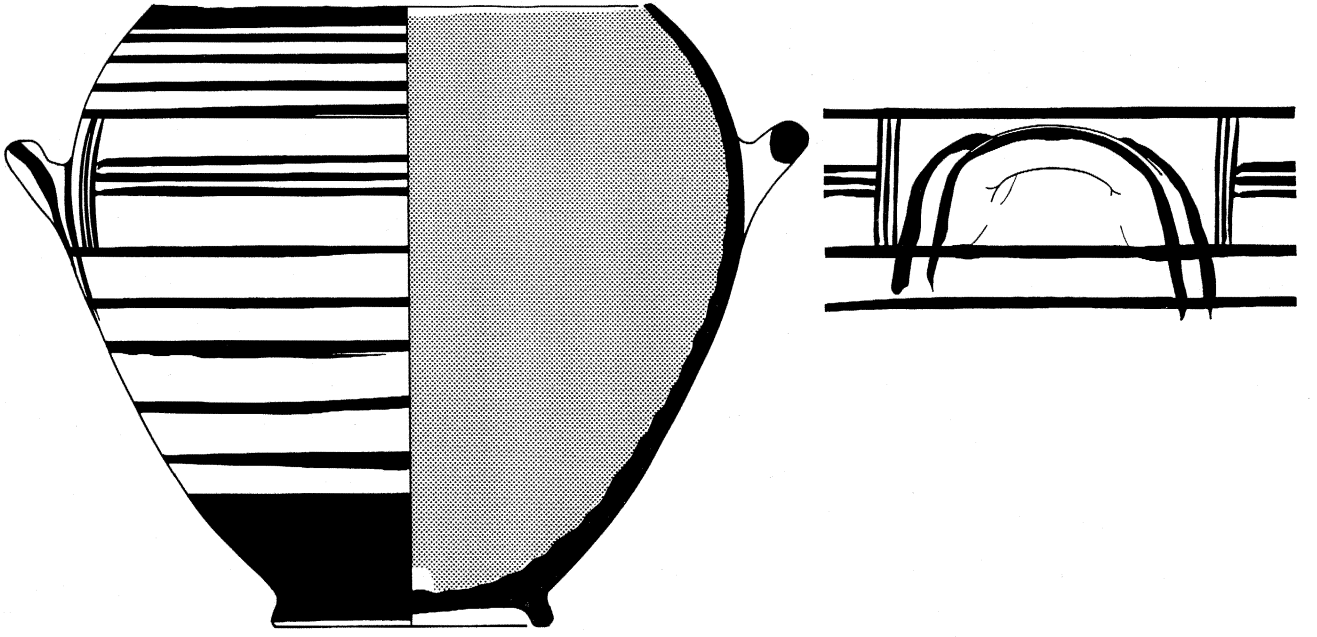

FIG. 1. Bucket, Agora P 6163 (Well L 6:2). Drawing Anne Hooton (Scale 1:4).

and Middle Geometric II.[6] In addition to the usual fragmentary pottery, two vases, practically complete, were found at a depth of 3.50 m, in the lower deposit. One of these is P 6163, the other a large oinochoe (P 6164; Pl. 16:c).[7] Another virtually complete vessel recovered from the deposit, although not at the same depth as P 6163 and P 6164, is a banded neck-handled amphora with a painted potter's mark on the neck on one side of the vessel only.[8] Encountered in both the upper and lower fills were a small number of test pieces, wasters, and other discarded potters' debris.[9] Although significant, the quantity of such potters' waste, amounting to no more than some ten pieces, was meager in comparison to some other Early Iron Age deposits in the area of the later Athenian Agora.[10] Among its various surprises, deposit L 6:2 also yielded the small imported glass-paste amulet published by Rodney Young.[11] The amulet, originally thought to provide an important chronological "fixed point," led Young to pen what was to become a classic statement, the force of which is as relevant today as when first made:

> The discovery of imported Egyptian or Oriental objects of the Geometric period in Greece is always a source of great rejoicing, and of hope that evidence is at last in hand from which external confirmation for the chronology of the so-called Greek "dark age" may be adduced. This rejoicing lasts until the experts have been consulted, and have disagreed; then it is time to look around, to pick up the pieces, to re-establish the bona fides of the find in question, and even, perhaps, to try to date it approximately from its Greek context.[12]

Agora P 6163 can be assigned to the stylistic phase commonly referred to as Middle Geometric I. The tripartite system of dividing the Geometric style or period into Early, Middle, and Late, which diverges from Peter Kahane's earlier divisions,[13] was first applied to Attic pottery as a result of the study of the finds from the Athenian Agora.[14] The system was adopted by Coldstream[15] and is now more or less universally used, especially among English-speaking scholars, although many German publications still follow Kahane's alternative terminology.[16] In this terminology, Attic Middle Geometric corresponds to Kahane's "Severe" style, or phase. After judiciously reviewing the available evidence, Coldstream dated Middle Geometric I to ca. 850–800 B.C.,[17] and this conventional date, not without its problems, can serve as a rough estimate for the date of Agora P 6163. The vessel can be described as follows:

[6] Coldstream 1968, pp. 16, 21.

[7] Shear 1936, fig. 31.

[8] Papadopoulos 1994, pp. 441–443, A7, fig. 3, pl. 109:c–e.

[9] The obvious potters' debris included at least two, and possibly three, test pieces (for which see Farnsworth 1960; also Pemberton 1970, p. 302, nos. 146–150, pl. 75), three obvious wasters, and a possible kiln firing support (for which see generally Papadopoulos 1992). There is also a possible, but uncertain, metalworker's mold (not unlike those published in Mattusch 1977).

[10] I hope to be able to deal with the Early Iron Age potters' debris from the area of the later Athenian Agora in a separate publication in the not-too-distant future. Potters' waste was encountered in many well or pit deposits in the Athenian Agora, spanning the period from the so-called Submycenaean period through various phases of the Protogeometric period, into the Early, Middle, and Late Geometric as well as the Protoattic period; see Papadopoulos 1996. The largest single group of potters' refuse of the period comes from deposit L 11:1. Of a total yield of 1,972 pieces recovered from this deposit, at least 202, or about 10%, can be classified as potters' waste with certainty. Other pieces might, if complete, display flaws or damage sufficiently serious for them to qualify as production discards. It is not inconceivable that much, if not all, of deposit L 11:1 represents potters' debris.

[11] Young 1949, pp. 427–428.

[12] Young 1949, p. 427.

[13] Kahane 1940, pp. 482–483.

[14] Brann 1961, p. 95.

[15] Coldstream 1968, pp. 4–5; cf. Coldstream 1995, p. 391.

[16] Such is the case in recent volumes in the *Kerameikos* series, such as *Kerameikos* XIII.

[17] Coldstream 1968, pp. 302–331.

Agora P 6163 Well L 6:2 Fig. 1; Pl. 15:a
Large closed vessel (hydria) remodeled into krater.
H. 0.325 m; Diam. base 0.150 m; Diam. rim 0.265 m.
Reconstructed from fragments. Complete except for a few missing body fragments, restored in plaster. Condition quite good.
Ring foot; lower wall rising steeply, upper wall curving in; plain chamfered lip. Two horizontal handles, round in section, attached at point of maximum diameter.
Clay body not visible. Reserved surfaces evenly fired, close to pink (7.5YR 7/4). Small portion of exterior on one side fired closer to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6–7/6).
Paint on exterior fairly evenly applied, well adhering, generally fired black, shading to brown where more dilute. Paint on interior more thickly applied at floor and to one side; paint cracked where thickest, with a tendency to flake; fired black. Interior painted solid except for reserved disk at center of floor (Diam. 0.028 m). Exterior banded; exterior of foot and lower wall painted solid, except for lowest edge of foot, which is reserved. Five horizontal bands on lower wall. Belly zone, on both sides of the vessel, defined by three thin vertical stripes, near the handles on either side. Handles decorated with arches and bows. Central portion of belly zone decorated with three close-set horizontal bands. Four bands on upper body, above which is a thicker band extending to rim. Outer edge of rim top painted, inner edge reserved.
Athenian Middle Geometric I.

It is clear enough that Agora P 6163 was originally a large closed vessel. The upper body, including the uppermost shoulder, neck, and rim, must have been damaged at some stage *prior* to firing, although most of the body and base was unscathed. In virtually all large Attic closed vessels of the Early Iron Age, the neck and rim of the pot are made separately from the main body and subsequently attached. This usually results in a thickening, in some cases substantial, at the juncture of shoulder and neck on the interior (Fig. 2). As a joint between two parts of a relatively large pot, such a juncture must have been one of the structurally weaker parts of the vessel, particularly during the drying stage, at which time a shrinkage of the clay takes place. Published measurements show that in Attic clay the linear drying shrinkage is 9%, and this is accompanied by a proportional loss of weight, which can be as much as 21%.[18] Consequently, the juncture of shoulder and neck of large closed vessels may have been particularly susceptible to damage during the drying phase, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the majority of unpublished Protogeometric and Geometric test pieces from the Athenian Agora were cut from damaged vessels having a medium to large closed shape, or else from skyphoi and cups originally with tall conical feet. In the case of the latter, it is worth adding that the conical feet were also made separately from the body and subsequently attached. Whatever the cause of the damage to P 6163, rather than discard the vessel, the potter pared it down to the base of the shoulder, probably with a knife or some other similar implement—hence the neatly chamfered rim. Such rims are unknown in Attic pottery among kraters, or any other pots, of the period. The interior of the vessel, with prominent wheel marks more usual on closed rather than open shapes, was then painted solid, except for a small reserved disk at the center of the floor, a feature common to most Athenian Early Iron Age open shapes. It also seems clear that the exterior of the original vessel was in part decorated with simple horizontal bands, a scheme common for both amphoras and hydriai.[19] The final number of horizontal bands, however, particularly those which are closely set on the belly zone, may be atypical, and some of these, like the paint on the interior, may have been added after the vessel was damaged.

[18] Noble 1988, pp. 19, 200, graphs I, II.

[19] For banded amphoras and hydriai, see *Agora* VIII, pl. 3; see also Papadopoulos 1994, pp. 441–443, A7, fig. 3, pl. 109:c–e.

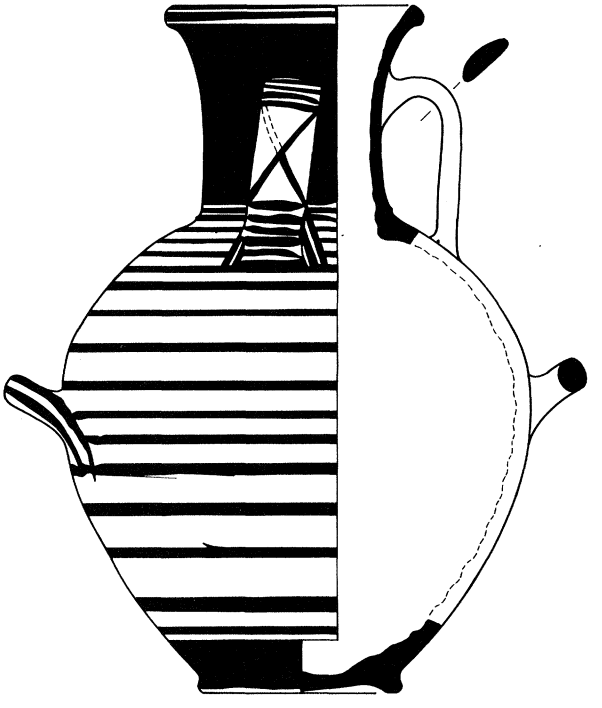

FIG. 2. Hydria, Kerameikos inv. 783 (Geometric Grave 89). Drawing Anne Hooton (Scale 1:4).

A number of factors combine to suggest that Agora P 6163 in its original form was more likely a hydria, rather than an amphora. The true belly-handled amphora begins to be replaced by the shoulder-handled amphora during the Late Protogeometric period and is very rare in the Early and Middle Geometric periods, although there are some notable exceptions.[20] In Late Geometric, the already obsolete belly-handled amphora sees a revival as a monumental grave marker, but the shape is never very common, and after Late Geometric I it passes into oblivion.[21] Agora P 6163 is therefore less likely to have been cut down from an amphora and should then have been a hydria originally, although this by itself is not conclusive evidence. Since the repairs to Agora P 6163 were made prior to firing and the original closed vessel was trimmed down to the base of the shoulder, no trace of the supposed vertical handle survives. Banded hydriai of the Middle and Late Geometric periods stylistically follow trends well established in the Protogeometric period, so much so that they appear to represent an archaizing style, whether as a survival or revival of their Protogeometric prototypes. By the 7th century B.C., according to the conventional chronology, banded hydriai are replaced by a coarseware variety that continues to be made in many parts of the Greek world, notably on the Aegean islands and at Corinth, into the 6th century B.C. or even later.[22] The advantages of the coarseware variety lie in the porosity of the fabric, making the

[20] Two of the most splendid are the cinerary urn of the so-called Tomb of the Rich Athenian Lady (Agora Grave H 16:6; Smithson 1968) and the ash urn of Kerameikos Tomb 41 (*Kerameikos* V, i, inv. 2146, pl. 46), listed by Coldstream (1968, p. 14) as Transitional Early Geometric II–Middle Geometric I; cf. *Kerameikos* V, i, pls. 47–49; see also Wide 1899, pp. 199–203, figs. 65–70.

[21] See Coldstream 1968, pp. 33–34, note 2.

[22] For Corinthian coarse hydriai, see, most recently, Pfaff 1988, pp. 31–33 (with references), pp. 64–66, fig. 23; cf. *Corinth* XIII, pp. 21–23, 25, 27–28, pls. 6, 8; Williams 1981, pp. 148–149, figs. 53, 54. For the Cycladic coarse hydriai in the Geometric period, see especially Cambitoglou et al. 1981, pp. 36–38, 41, fig. 17.

hydria an efficient water storage and cooling pot, like the modern Greek *stamnos*.[23] The ability of the porous fabric of modern traditional water jars, like that of the ancient coarseware hydriai, to keep their contents cool by evaporation is well documented.[24] The only decorated exceptions can be found in a class of hydriai, very different from the banded and coarseware versions, common to the Late Geometric and Early Protoattic periods. Often described as "ceremonial," these figured hydriai, normally decorated with plastic snakes around the rim (and handles), are too small and frail for use as water jars.[25] The banded hydriai of the Middle and Late Geometric period are usefully discussed by Brann,[26] as are the banded amphoras, all of which have vertical handles.[27] Although normally considered as utility vessels,[28] banded amphoras and hydriai are not uncommon in graves.[29] Indeed, the closest parallel for what P 6163 may have looked like in its original state, as a closed vessel, is offered by two hydriai from Kerameikos Grave 89 (Pls. 15:b, c, 16:a, b),[30] normally assigned to the Transitional Middle Geometric II–Late Geometric I period.[31] Of these, in both the shape and decoration Kerameikos 783 is closest to Agora P 6163, and a fuller description of the vessel is appended here.

Kerameikos inv. 783 Grave 89 Fig. 2; Pl. 15:b, c (left)
Hydria.
H. 0.370 m; Diam. base 0.108 m; Diam. rim 0.135 m.
Reconstructed from a few large fragments preserving complete vessel except for minor chipping at neck, restored in plaster. Breaks mainly at neck of vessel.
Low ring foot, with narrow resting surface. Rounded body; tall vertical neck made separately from body and subsequently attached, flaring slightly to thickened rim with rounded outside edge. Two small horizontal handles, round in section, attached at point of greatest diameter. Vertical strap handle, attached from upper shoulder to about the middle of the neck.
Reserved surfaces fired close to pink (7.5YR 7/4).
Paint peeled in places, fired black. Lower outside edge of foot mostly reserved; remainder of foot and lower wall painted solid. Body banded (15 bands); an additional two bands on lower neck. Remainder of neck painted solid. Two thin bands on outside edge of rim, the uppermost extending very slightly onto interior. Interior otherwise reserved. Two arches on each of the horizontal handles (no bows). Lower attachment of vertical handle framed, on either side, by two vertical, or slightly diagonal, lines. Five bars on lower outside face of handle; eight bars on upper face; Saint Andrew's cross at midpoint. Traces of paint on handle edges, but these do not extend the full length of the handle.
Athenian Middle Geometic II–Late Geometric I.

[23] See especially Blitzer 1990, pp. 692–693, specifically the *beka*, the water jar produced in the Koroni district; cf. also the *bekia* and the *kapakli* used for carrying wine or water to work in the field. See also Jones 1986, p. 858, fig. 12:3 (d), pp. 861–864.

[24] Jones 1986, p. 873.

[25] *Agora* VIII, p. 35. These hydriai are one of the hallmarks of the Analatos Painter and may well have played an important role in the advent of the Protoattic style. See especially Sheedy 1992, pp. 11–28.

[26] *Agora* VIII, pp. 34–35, nos. 37–39, pl. 3; Brann 1961, pp. 100, 128, discussion under N 6. See also Young 1939, esp. p. 209.

[27] Brann 1961, p. 118, pl. 13, discussion under L 6; *Agora* VIII, p. 34; see also *Kerameikos* V, i, pl. 41.

[28] See *Agora* VIII, p. 34.

[29] See especially *Kerameikos* V, i, pls. 41, 50.

[30] *Kerameikos* V, i, inv. 783, 784, pl. 50.

[31] Coldstream 1968, p. 22. A number of other hydriai can be compared, for example, Young 1939, p. 27, V-1, fig. 14 (Agora P 4614); *Kerameikos* V, i, inv. 1159, pl. 149 (Grave 44; the vessel is fragmentary and is stated by Kübler, p. 239, to be an amphora).

The dating of Kerameikos 783 is assisted by the other pots deposited in the tomb (Kerameikos Geometric Grave 89; Pl. 15:c), and the group as a whole is described by Coldstream as the earliest of the significant deposits of the Transitional Attic Middle Geometric II–Late Geometric I period.[32] The hydriai from the tomb (Fig. 2; Pls. 15:b, c, 16:a, b), stylistically quite nebulous, are more firmly anchored to the relative chronology by virtue of the open vessels recovered from the same tomb (Pl. 15:c). This is an important point, since if Kerameikos 783 and Agora P 6163 had been found in less "well-dated" contexts they might have been designated as more or less contemporary pieces.[33] It is worth stressing that according to the conventional chronology,[34] Agora P 6163 and Kerameikos 783 are separated in absolute time by at least 40 to 50 years and, depending on where exactly P 6163 is placed in Middle Geometric I, perhaps by as much as 75 or even 100 years.[35] Among the other vessels deposited in Kerameikos Grave 89, special mention should be made of Kerameikos 780, a banded skyphos that in fabric and style is very similar to the hydria 783; it was probably made as part of the same set.[36]

We return to P 6163 and its deformities. Post-firing salvage repairs are common and go beyond the usual rivet or tie holes, particularly on large and expensive pots,[37] while similar repairs to smaller vessels may have been prompted by other factors, including potters having to meet a deadline;[38] in comparison, pre-firing repairs are rare. However, Agora P 6163 is not the only vessel to have been damaged prior to firing, modified, fired, and subsequently used. The foot of a small Late Protogeometric kantharos (Agora P 6724), almost certainly a tall conical foot in its original form, was sliced off before painting, and the vessel subsequently saw service as an offering

[32] Coldstream 1968, p. 22.

[33] This is but one of the many problems of the conventional chronology of the Greek Early Iron Age. The problem, in part, stems from the length of time allocated to the various phases in the relative sequence, the chief problem being that the Late Geometric phase has been compressed into far too short a period of time and the Middle Geometric period as a whole allotted too much time in comparison. I explore these problems more fully in a forthcoming study.

[34] As it appears in Coldstream 1968, p. 330; Coldstream 1977, p. 385; Snodgrass 1971, pp. 134–135; Morris 1987, p. 12.

[35] Coldstream (1968, p. 16) places the lower deposit of Well L 6:2 toward the middle of Middle Geometric I.

[36] *Kerameikos* V, i, pl. 95; cf. two similar skyphoi, pl. 95, top left (*Einzelfund*), and inv. 861, pl. 95 (Grave 11; stylistically very close to inv. 780 but assigned to Middle Geometric I). Note also a series of banded oinochoai and tankards; cf., among others, Brouskare 1979, no. 567, pl. 1; no. 569, pl. 3; nos. 570, 573, pls. 4, 5; pl. 8 (oinochoai); no. 598, pl. 26 (tankard).

[37] A very good example is another unpublished Late Geometric vessel from the Athenian Agora, P 14819, clearly an import, probably from the Cyclades. The original rim had been damaged *after* firing, and an attempt to clamp the severed neck and rim appears to have splintered the neck beyond conventional repair. Rather than discard such an enormous vessel, the line of the fracture on the upper neck was evened out as much as possible and the edges sanded smooth.

[38] To say that Early Iron Age potters may have had to meet deadlines is not so jejune as it may seem at first. In Papadopoulos 1994, p. 481, I noted that many ethnographic studies of traditional modern potters have shown that craftsmen, especially those who are highly skilled, find it difficult to keep up with market demand. In addition, factors such as the seasonality of certain economic activities, or even the internal organization of a potter's establishment, may result in purchasable pots not being available all year round. In either case, the effect on the potter, the workshop, and on demand can be significant. This is especially true if Athenian Early Iron Age pottery production is viewed against the backdrop of Peacock's "workshop industries" or his model of the "manufactory"; see Peacock 1982, pp. 25–46. Most scholars would place the majority of ancient Greek pottery establishments, even the prolific output of the Corinthian pottery industry of the Archaic period or the production of Athenian black- and red-figured pottery, in one or the other of Peacock's workshop industries or the manufactory (Peacock 1982; Papadopoulos 1997). If Peacock's example of the pottery manufactory at Nantgarw in southern Wales has a size and shape that might be generally appropriate to a pottery manufactory (Peacock 1982, pp. 44–45, figs. 15, 16), then it bears a striking resemblance to the size and plan of the Archaic pottery establishment at Phari on the southwestern coast of Thasos; see Peristeri et al. 1985; Peristeri, Blondé, and Perreault 1986; Blondé, Perreault, and Peristeri 1992, esp. p. 13, fig. 1. The pottery establishment at Figareto on Kerkyra might also be compared; see Preka-Alexandri 1992.

in a grave.[39] The low conical foot of a miniature pyxis from another Late Protogeometric grave nearby appears to have been damaged while the paint was still wet.[40] These, among many others, serve to illustrate that potters were not averse to salvaging damaged vases prior to firing and then selling them either to unsuspecting customers or to more demanding clients at a discount. The fact that many such vessels were deposited in graves may even suggest that "factory seconds," or even vessels that would normally have been considered wasters, were sometimes palmed off on a dead relative.[41] Quite apart from undermining a recent theory that views Attic Geometric pottery in terms of "symbols of achieved social rank,"[42] the fact that such damaged and salvaged pots are sometimes found abroad tends to confound another recent theory that views much of the trade in Greek Geometric pottery in terms of "gift-exchange" between neighboring elites.[43] I have discussed both of these problems elsewhere,[44] and the whole issue is well summarized by Ktesias' statement in Athenaios:

> Καὶ γὰρ Κτησίας «παρὰ Πέρσαις», φησίν, «ὃν ἂν βασιλεὺς ἀτιμάσῃ κεραμέοις χρῆται». ("And Ktesias says, "Among the Persians he whom the king wishes to insult uses pottery vessels.")[45]

Or better still, in Juvenal:

> fictilibus cenare pudet— ("[Even a poor man] is ashamed to dine off pottery dishes").[46]

Whatever a vessel such as P 6163 may tell us of ancient trade or other practices, it is clearly one of the very largest pots of the period to have been remodeled by the potter, subsequently used, in whatever capacity, and then discarded, ultimately in the fill of a well.[47] Its depth within the well would seem to preclude its having served as a vessel used to draw water.[48]

The final appearance of Agora P 6163 is that of an egg-shaped krater—a bucket, by any other name. In whatever capacity Agora P 6163 was used in antiquity, it is interesting, if not ironic, that it now represents one of the few *complete* Attic "kraters" of the Early Iron Age that we have.[49] By 1952 Vincent Desborough noted that no complete Protogeometric kraters were found in any of the Kerameikos tombs, or in the Agora, although krater fragments from both

[39] P 6724 was found in Grave C 9:14, one of the many Protogeometric tombs uncovered on the western side of the Kolonos Agoraios. The Early Iron Age tombs in the area of the later Athenian Agora will be fully published by E. L. Smithson and J. K. Papadopoulos in a forthcoming monograph in the *Athenian Agora* series.

[40] Agora P 6683, from Grave C 9:10.

[41] A classic case can be found in the offerings placed in the child inhumation, Tomb C 11:2 (dated to Developed Protogeometric), in the area of the later Athenian Agora. A total of six vases was deposited in the grave: a round-mouthed oinochoe (P 7078), three lekythoi (P 7079, P 7077, P 7075), a skyphos (P 7074), and a one-handled cup (P 7076). With the exception of the oinochoe and the skyphos, the pottery deposited in the tomb, especially the lekythos P 7075 and the cup P 7076, is a sad lot of damaged pots.

[42] Whitley 1991, esp. pp. 192–193; see further, Papadopoulos 1993, pp. 190–191.

[43] Crielaard 1993.

[44] See Papadopoulos 1993.

[45] Ktesias in Athenaios 464a; translation by Richter (1923, p. 101).

[46] Juvenal, *Satires* 3.168; translation by Richter (1923, p. 102).

[47] Another example of a large pot salvaged in a manner not unlike that of P 6163 is the large neck-handled amphora, *Kerameikos* I, p. 115, inv. 568, pl. 41, from Grave Mound T 8, normally assigned to Late Protogeometric or Early Geometric I (see Desborough 1952, p. 12). The ring foot was chipped off and the bottom hollowed after painting so that the pot would stand firmly; it is clear that the chipping of the base was done when the clay was quite hard, but it is unclear whether this was before or after firing.

[48] In many, though not all, of the numerous wells in the area of the later Athenian Agora, the lowest deposit was made up of complete or nearly complete vases, of various shapes, used to draw water. Such vessels, which had been inadvertently dropped by their owners, make up the period-of-use fill, as opposed to the dumped fill; see *Agora* VIII, pp. 107–108, fig. 7.

[49] See *Kerameikos* I, pp. 127–130; Desborough 1952, pp. 92–98; Coldstream 1968, pp. 11, 14, 17–18, 23; Desborough 1972, pp. 153–154.

sites were not uncommon, particularly among the finds from the Kerameikos.[50] The situation for Early Geometric and Middle Geometric I is not much better,[51] and it is only from the Middle Geometric II period that we have a few complete specimens of kraters, as well as the well-known monumental version of the Late Geometric period, which served as a grave marker.[52]

In its final form, as a krater, or bucket, Agora P 6163 bears a striking resemblance to a shape very popular in Early Iron Age Crete but rare outside the island; it is normally referred to as a pithos. This rather unsatisfactory name was first used by Humfry Payne,[53] and in the great tradition of Classical archaeology, the term, once stated, has assumed a die-hard tenacity. It was retained by James Brock,[54] who provided the most detailed study of the shape, as well as by subsequent scholars, such as Coldstream, who has recently reviewed the form.[55] In dealing with these "painted pithoi," which are very different from "coarse pithoi," Brock subdivided the basic shape into various categories. Some of his "necked pithoi" are, as he himself states, "more like kraters while a few at the other extreme resemble neck-amphorae."[56] In describing the "straight-sided pithoi," the terms "pyxis" and "situla" feature prominently in Brock's commentary,[57] while with the less homogeneous "pithoi," a large variety of subdivisions is discerned.[58] In dealing with the shape, Coldstream writes, "a plump, capacious vase designed with a wide mouth, so that it could house not only the ashes, but also the smaller and more personal of the funerary gifts: in this way the Cretan dead were partially compensated for the lack of that privacy enjoyed by the Athenians and other mainlanders who rested in individual graves. Urns of this shape—or painted pithoi, as they are called in Crete—are rare in other Geometric schools, except on the island of Thera, where similar burial customs were observed."[59] In dealing with the Theran version of the form, the name "stamnos" is commonly applied.[60] Whether it is termed a pithos, stamnos, pyxis, krater, situla, amphora, or bucket, the basic lines in the development of the Cretan shape have been well drawn by Payne, Brock, Desborough, and Coldstream,[61] and those of its Theran cousin have been well mapped out by Dragendorff, Pfuhl, Dugas, and others.[62] With both the Cretan and the Theran variety, the idiosyncrasies of the shape are such that it is not, in any concrete way, linked to the Attic repertoire, nor is an Athenian relative, let alone prototype, immediately apparent.

[50] Desborough 1952, p. 92, with a summary on the development of the shape on pp. 92–98; *Kerameikos* I, pp. 127–130. A monograph on the krater fragments from the Kerameikos, similar to that on the pyxides (*Kerameikos* XIII) by Barbara Bohen, and by the same author, is in hand.

[51] Coldstream 1968, pp. 11, 14, 17–18.

[52] Coldstream 1968, p. 23 (for Middle Geometric II), pp. 29–90 (for Late Geometric).

[53] Payne 1927–1928, esp. pp. 233–246.

[54] Brock 1957, pp. 147–152.

[55] See Coldstream 1994. Coldstream's earlier overview, Coldstream 1968, pp. 233–261, esp. p. 233, is still useful. The most recent study of the shape is presented in Catling and Coldstream 1996; for the necked pithos in Subminoan–Early Protogeometric, see Catling and Coldstream 1996, vol. II, p. 304; vol. III, fig. 86; vol. IV, nos. 3, 5, 6, Tomb 48, pl. 109. The later Early Iron Age history of the shape is fully discussed in Catling and Coldstream 1996, vol. II, pp. 311–314 (necked pithoi), pp. 314–317 (straight-sided pithoi), pp. 317–324 (ovoid neckless pithoi); see also pp. 421–424 (for the Orientalizing period). The basic development has the Geometric neckless type gradually replacing the Protogeometric predecessor with low neck.

[56] Brock 1957, p. 147.

[57] Brock 1957, pp. 147–148.

[58] Brock 1957, pp. 148–152.

[59] Coldstream 1968, p. 233. For the use of such shapes in funerary rites, see Bohen 1976, pp. 20–22.

[60] Coldstream 1968, p. 186. For the Theran version, see, among others, Dugas 1925, pp. 155–176, esp. p. 158, fig. 94.

[61] Payne 1927–1928, pp. 233–246; Brock 1957, pp. 147–152; Desborough 1952, pp. 233–262; Coldstream 1968, pp. 233–261; Catling and Coldstream 1996, vol. II, pp. 304, 311–324, 421–424.

[62] *Thera* II, esp. pp. 146–148, figs. 348–357; Pfuhl 1903, esp. pp. 106–108, Beil. 7 (referred to as "halslose Amphoren"); Dugas 1925, pp. 155–176; see also Wide 1899, esp. pp. 28–33; Kontoleon 1958, pp. 127–139, esp. nos. 1, 2, pl. 98; Coldstream 1968, pp. 185–189.

There is, however, one example of the shape from Fortetsa, which in fabric and decoration is different from both the Cretan and Theran version of the "painted pithos." Brock lists the vessel, designated Fortetsa 454 (Pl. 16:d) and dated to Cretan Protogeometric B–Middle Geometric,[63] as an import, under the general heading of Protogeometric and Geometric imports of Attic type, perhaps Cycladic.[64] Indeed, Brock assumed that many, if not most, of the imported vases of "Attic type" derived from a workshop in the Cyclades.[65] It should be noted that at the time he was writing the important discoveries at Lefkandi, Eretria, and even Chalkis lay in the future,[66] and Euboian Early Iron Age pottery was very little known.[67] It is, therefore, all the more a tribute to the sharp and penetrating eye of Brock that he was able to distinguish what proved to be Euboian ware from Attic and to assign it provisionally to a workshop in the Cyclades. Over a decade later, scholars were still greatly exercised in distinguishing Euboian from Cycladic, as the case of the so-called Cesnola Painter clearly attests.[68] In the meantime, much of what Brock referred to as "Attic type, perhaps Cycladic," has proved to be either Euboian or Cycladic.[69] Within this group, Fortetsa 454 stood out, and it is worth quoting Brock's description of the piece in full:

> **454** [13] TWO-HANDLED PITHOS. Base level 185, height 0.295, diameter 0.285, diameter of mouth 0.15.
>
> Well purified pale pink clay. Buff surface. Very good lustrous varnish, black to red. Twin cylindrical handles covered with lines; reserved below. Rim unvarnished save band on lip; narrower and more deeply recessed than in Cretan. Decoration on both sides identical: hatched maeander flanked by zigzag triglyphs. Black "rays" below. Narrow ring foot; gradual transition to flat smooth recess with spiral mark at centre.
>
> An import. . . . I have assumed that most of the contemporary imported vases of Attic type come from a Cycladic pottery but this vase seems to me indistinguishable from Attic. The shape is rare outside Crete. Some examples are quoted by Payne, *BSA* xxix, 234 n. 1.[70]

Assuming that Fortetsa 454 is an import and probably Attic, Brock has the following to say about it: "The shape is not at home elsewhere in Greece so that it may be a copy of a Cretan type or made for the Cretan market. Alternatively, if the pot was imported during the Protogeometric B period, one might imagine that the shape was invented in Attica or the Cyclades, where it had no future, but that it appealed to the Cretan potters who proceeded to adopt it as their standard cinerary vase."[71] To this he adds, by way of a footnote, "Oddly enough the two-handled type [as Fortetsa 454] is not common before *Late* Cretan Geometric."[72] Despite enumerating a range of possibilities, it is clear that Brock was troubled by this piece. Indeed, a comparison of Fortetsa 454 with, for example, Fortetsa 824,[73] or any number of the "painted pithoi" from Tombs VII, VIII,

[63] Brock 1957, p. 190. According to Coldstream (1968, p. 330; cf. Coldstream 1977, p. 385), Cretan Protogeometric B through Middle Geometric would roughly cover Attic Middle Geometric I through Late Geometric Ia (ca. 840–745 B.C.); see also Coldstream 1977, pp. 95–102, 271–292.

[64] Brock 1957, p. 190.

[65] Brock 1957, p. 47, under no. 454.

[66] For the excavations at Lefkandi, see *Lefkandi* I, *Lefkandi* II, i, *Lefkandi* II, ii; for Eretria, see the various volumes in the Eretria series, *Eretria: Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*; for the various excavations at Chalkis, see references in Bakhuizen 1985.

[67] See, for example, the comments in Desborough 1952, p. 199; cf. Coldstream 1968, pp. 164–195, esp. pp. 189–195, although some of the material listed as Naxian (pp. 172–176) has been reattributed to Euboia; see Coldstream 1971.

[68] Coldstream 1968, pp. 172–174, pl. 35; Coldstream 1971.

[69] Cf. Coldstream 1990.

[70] Brock 1957, p. 47.

[71] Brock 1957, p. 43.

[72] Brock 1957, p. 43, note 2.

[73] Brock 1957, pl. 51; Coldstream 1968, pl. 54:f; Coldstream 1977, p. 273, fig. 86:f.

TFT, F, P2, II, and P,[74] shows how similar the Athenian version is to the locally produced Cretan version. This similarity was not lost on Coldstream, who, having confirmed the Attic provenance of Fortetsa 454[75] and having assigned it to late Middle Geometric I or early Middle Geometric II,[76] went on to state, "Surprisingly enough, one of the earliest of these pithoi [Fortetsa 454] was made in Athens, and one is tempted to believe that it was made for the Cretan market. At all events, Attic imports are plentiful enough to justify the assumption that the stylistic influences came directly from Attica, and not through Cycladic imports."[77] In a more recent study, Coldstream has noted that there were quite a number of Attic pots exported to Knossos.[78]

Although the decoration of Fortetsa 454 can be easily fitted into the Attic sequence, its shape is not so comfortable in an Athenian lineup. It can only be compared with a small and rather eclectic group of pyxides referred to either as high-handled pyxides by Desborough[79] or as stamnos-pyxides by Barbara Bohen.[80] If, for the purposes of comparison with Fortetsa 454, one subtracts the small, footed examples of the shape,[81] one is left with a very small and varied group of "pyxides," including some of the finest examples of the Athenian potters' craft, such as Louvre A 514, Akropolis Museum 1961 Nak-301 (Tomb 3), British Museum 1950.2–28.3, and Kerameikos inv. 599, the latter originally published as a bucket (*Eimer*).[82] To these may be added another pyxis, an Athenian import to the Argolid, used in a child burial at Tiryns.[83] Of these five vessels, two are Late Protogeometric and three, Louvre A 514, Akropolis 1961 Nak-301, and the pyxis from Tiryns, can be assigned to Middle Geometric;[84] furthermore, no two pyxides of this group are similar in all aspects of shape and decoration.[85] All five examples, however, differ from Fortetsa 454 in that the handles are larger and more noticeably vertical, rising as they do well above the level of the rim, and all five, with the exception of the tall, straight-sided Protogeometric pyxis

[74] Brock 1957, pls. 50–52 (Tomb VII), and see also some of the local examples in Tomb X, pls. 28–32, pls. 38, 39, esp. no. 589, pl. 39 (Tomb VIII), pls. 40–42, esp. no. 695, pl. 42 (Tomb TFT), pls. 47, 48 (Tomb F), pls. 53–57 (Tomb P2), pls. 60–75, esp. no. 1056, pl. 63 (Tomb II), pls. 79–92 (Tomb P). See also Wide 1899, pp. 35–43, esp. pp. 36–39, figs. 13–21; Payne 1927–1928, nos. 1, 3, pls. 7, 8; Levi 1927–1929, many examples, *passim*; Platon 1945–1947, esp. pp. 51–55, figs. 3–6; Rocchetti 1967–1968, esp. pp. 202–203, figs. 40 ("deinos"), 42 ("pisside"); Rocchetti 1969–1970, p. 66, esp. no. 35 (straight-sided pithos); Rocchetti 1974–1975, esp. p. 232, fig. 85 (F.2469), p. 218, fig. 67 ("anfora"); Rocchetti 1988–1989, pp. 225–228, esp. figs. 135, 136, 138 ("stamnoi"), pp. 228–229 ("pissidi"), pp. 229–230 ("deinoi"), pp. 231–232 ("pithoi").

[75] Coldstream 1968, p. 239, note 6, p. 240, note 2.

[76] Coldstream 1968, p. 240, note 2. The vessel is also discussed by Bohen (1976, esp. p. 18), who also confirms that it is Attic and Middle Geometric in date.

[77] Coldstream 1968, pp. 356–357; cf. his comments on pp. 233–235.

[78] Coldstream 1995, p. 394. On p. 400 he states, "At Knossos, in the chamber tombs of the North Cemetery, between the late 10th and 8th centuries there are about a hundred Attic imports, forming about three percent of the total ceramic corpus."

[79] Desborough 1952, pp. 112–113, pl. 13.

[80] *Kerameikos* XIII, pp. 13–20, 78–80, nos. 1–19, pls. 1–3, Beil. 1–3. In Bohen 1976 the shape is referred to as "krater-pyxides."

[81] Whether with tripod feet, as *Kerameikos* XIII, pl. 1, or with low ring feet, as no. 4, pl. 1 (from Tiryns), nos. 10–12, pl. 3.

[82] *Kerameikos* XIII, pls. 2:1 (Louvre A 514 = Coldstream 1968, pl. 4:e), 2:3 (BM 1950.2–28.3 = Desborough 1952, pl. 13); *Kerameikos* I, inv. 599, T 28, pl. 50 (= Desborough 1952, pl. 13; *Kerameikos* XIII, p. 79, no. 8, Beil. 2). For Akropolis Museum 1961 Nak-301, Tomb 3 (Kalisperi and Parthenonos Streets on the south slope of the Akropolis), see Bohen 1976, p. 20, note 25, no. 3, pl. 4 (originally published in Dontas 1963, pp. 86, 90, pl. 34). It is worth adding that Louvre A 514 was found in Athens in the early 19th century, in the area beyond the Dipylon Gate, with human cremated remains inside; see Bohen 1976, p. 20; Stackelberg 1837, pl. 9 (center), with discussion on pp. 1–2 of the accompanying text.

[83] *Tiryns* I, ii, no. 5, pl. 19; Courbin 1966, pl. 149 (top right); Bohen 1976, p. 20.

[84] Coldstream 1968, pl. 4:e, and Bohen 1976, no. 4, pl. 4 (Louvre A 514); the pyxis now in the Akropolis Museum is discussed by Bohen (1976, p. 20), and the Tiryns pyxis was assigned to the Middle Geometric period in Courbin 1966.

[85] Even though Louvre A 514 and Akropolis Museum 1961 Nak-301 are assigned to the same potter in Bohen 1976, p. 20, note 25.

now in London, lack the proportionately taller, less rounded body of Fortetsa 454.[86] Moreover, the decorative schemes are different (see below). In some respects, particularly in the form of the rim, the proportionately taller body, and the fact that the handles do not rise significantly above the level of the rim, Fortetsa 454 is closer to an early Middle Geometric II "stamnos-pyxis" from the Kerameikos (inv. 2855), dated to 900–775 B.C.[87] Despite its similarities with Fortetsa 454 and many of the Cretan examples cited above, Kerameikos 2855 stood, in all probability, on a tall, pedestaled base, and its size and concept anticipate the large burial markers of the Late Geometric period, as Bohen suggested.[88]

In short, although the shape of Fortetsa 454 bears a general likeness to a few Athenian pyxides, it stands alone among a group of individuals. Its singularity is bolstered by its decoration, and in this Fortetsa 454 is different from normal Attic pyxides in one important respect: its decoration more closely resembles that of Athenian Middle Geometric amphoras. Any number of Athenian Middle Geometric I–II amphoras, especially shoulder-handled amphoras, may be compared, as may be, too, the occasional Early Geometric II amphora.[89] In the case of the Athenian pyxides referred to above, as well as the "painted pithoi" of Crete, the decoration on the shoulder is taken right up to the handles, and the decorative zone often extends below the handle zone. The neatly defined panel on Fortetsa 454 most closely resembles the types of panels on Athenian Middle Geometric (especially Middle Geometric I) amphoras, while the groups of horizontal bands on the body are found on many Athenian Middle Geometric closed vessels, including neck-handled amphoras and oinochoai (e.g., Pl. 16:c).[90]

In the light of Agora P 6163, could it not be that Fortetsa 454 was originally designed as an amphora and some time prior to firing was converted into a pyxis, but because of its original shape, was decorated as if it were an amphora? In such a case, the vertically set horizontal handles of Fortetsa 454 differ from the true vertical handles of shoulder-handled and neck-handled amphoras. These, coupled with the recessed rim, make Fortetsa 454 a full-fledged pyxis, but both its handles and rim, the latter described by Brock as "narrower and more deeply recessed than in Cretan,"[91] may have been afterthoughts, added to a damaged amphora by a potter loathe to discard an otherwise well potted and healthy vessel.[92] Rather than speculate, as Brock did, about possible

[86] Kerameikos inv. 599, Louvre A 514, and Akropolis Museum 1961 Nak-301 are squatter and rounder than Fortetsa 454; the pyxis from Tiryns has a somewhat lower center of gravity, resulting from a more oval, egg-shaped profile. In comparison, the lower body of Fortetsa 454 is taller and rises much more steeply to the point of greatest diameter, which is set quite high, with the shoulder curving in more noticeably.

[87] Bohen 1976, p. 16, no. 1, fig. 1, pls. 3, 4; *Kerameikos* XIII, pl. 2, Beil. 3; also discussed and illustrated in Coldstream 1995, pl. 98:c.

[88] The vessel is reconstructed with a tall pedestaled foot in Bohen 1976, p. 16, fig. 1, and in *Kerameikos* XIII, Beil. 3; the fragment of the foot is illustrated in Bohen 1976, no. 2, pl. 4. For further remarks, see Bohen 1976, pp. 21–22. The reconstructed foot is compared to *Kerameikos* V, i, inv. 1247, pl. 18, and inv. 865, pl. 21. For similar vessels, both Attic and non-Attic, see Bohen 1976, p. 17, note 6; cf. especially Coldstream 1968, pl. 35 (by the Cesnola Painter); Geroulanos 1973, no. 1, pls. 18, 37 (Trachones Grave A 30.1, Tr 303, referred to as a "Pithokrater"); Sheedy 1992, no. 1, pl. 6 (referred to as "standed krater"); for large, standed Euboian vessels found in Thera, see Zaphiropoulos 1983, *passim*.

[89] Cf. *Kerameikos* V, i, pls. 44–45 (Middle Geometric), pl. 42 (Early Geometric), and cf. pls. 30–33 for the groups of bands on the bodies of neck-handled amphoras; also Kahane 1940, no. 1, pl. 20 (shoulder-handled amphora with tripod-loop feet, Athens N.M. 218, from Eleusis); cf. Coldstream 1968, pl. 3:1 (Middle Geometric I), pl. 5:g (Middle Geometric II), pl. 2:a (Early Geometric II).

[90] In addition to the examples cited above (note 89), see also Coldstream 1968, pls. 3–5. The meander flanked by metopes with horses on Louvre A 514 comes close, but even here the decoration is extended right up to the handles, with various zones of zigzags extending below the handle zone.

[91] Brock 1957, p. 47.

[92] If this is true, the original vessel would most probably have been a shoulder-handled amphora, which was probably damaged at the juncture of shoulder and neck. The potter would then have cut away the neck and pared the shoulder down to the point at which it is preserved. He would then have added the short, flanged rim, typical for pyxides. The original shoulder handles, had these been attached, would have been replaced by handles more appropriate for a pyxis.

Athenian influences on a Cretan shape that bears little, if any, resemblance to anything Attic, or hypothesize, as Brock also intimated and as Coldstream preferred, that an Athenian potter specifically designed a vessel after the Cretan fashion and for the Cretan market (if correct, the only such example we know of), would it not be better to see Fortetsa 454 as a not-so-little Athenian mistake?[93] This "pyxis-that-would-have-been-an-amphora" may have made its way to Knossos as part of a larger shipment of pots and other goods, a cargo that need not have been carried by an Athenian ship or as part of a gift exchange. Once there, its shape—a plump and capacious vase, as Coldstream tells us, ideal for the ashes and the more personal of the funerary gifts of the deceased[94] —would have appealed to Cretan sensitivities, especially to a Knossian with a dead or dying relative, or to one getting on in years. Whichever way Fortetsa 454 is viewed, it, along with its friend, Agora P 6163, helps bring into focus one small aspect of pottery production that is rarely discussed: the potter's mistake.

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[93] The problem is also discussed at length in Bohen 1976; on p. 19 she states: "New inspiration from Crete for the Attic Middle Geometric form is not to be suspected." Elsewhere she writes (pp. 19–20): "None of these Cretan vessels is likely to have touched off a series of Mainland imitations. On the contrary, the influence must have been running in the opposite direction. . . . One should rather suspect that the importation of fine Attic vessels such as Fortetsa 454 would inspire a series of local imitations, as seems to be the case."

[94] Coldstream 1968, p. 233. In another paper, Coldstream (1995, pp. 400–401) noted that Attic amphoras imported to Knossos were not used as cremation urns and suggested that they contained the wine for the funerary symposium. He also notes that these large vessels are not likely to have been hauled overseas by casual traders but that they were more likely gifts between guest friends in Athens and Knossos.

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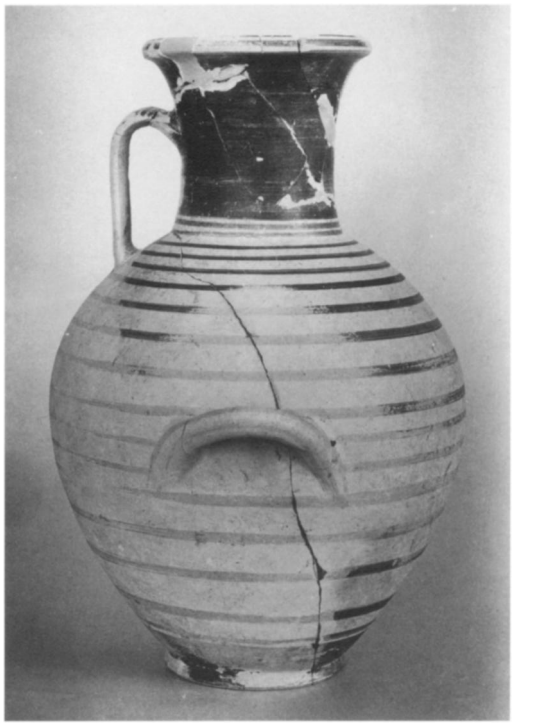
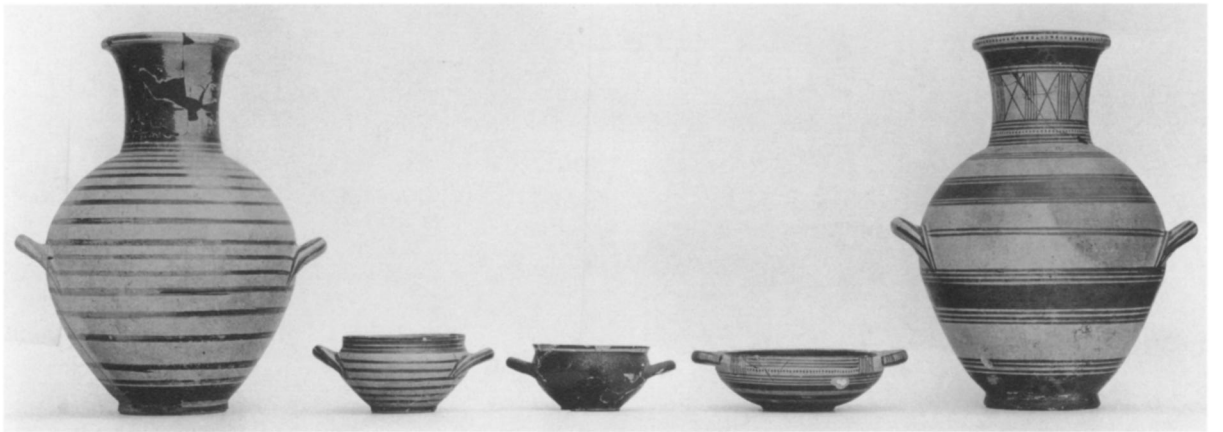
JOHN K. PAPADOPOULOS

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM
Department of Antiquities
17985 Pacific Coast Highway
Malibu, CA 90265–5799

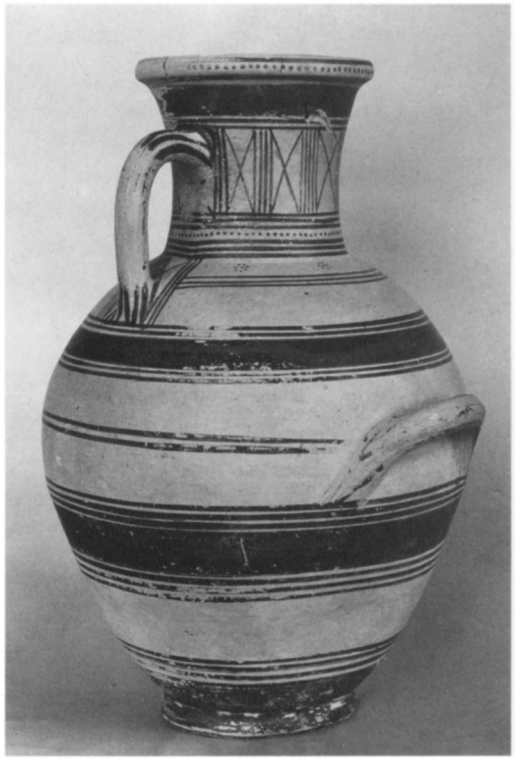
a. Bucket, Agora P 6163 (Well L 6:2). Courtesy Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.



b. Hydria, Kerameikos inv. 783 (Geometric Grave 89). Courtesy DAI-Athen.



c. Partial contents of Kerameikos Geometric Grave 89. Left to right: hydria (inv. 783), skyphos (inv. 780), skyphos (inv. 781), ribbon-handled bowl (inv. 779), hydria (inv. 784). Courtesy DAI-Athen.



a–b. Hydria, Kerameikos inv. 784 (Geometric Grave 89). Courtesy DAI-Athen.

c. Oinochoe, Agora P 6164 (Well L 6:2), found with P 6163. Courtesy Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

d. Pyxis, Fortetsa 454 (Tomb X), Attic import. Courtesy British School at Athens.